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from *Snuhəli*. My informant's grandchildren regard themselves as *Snuhəli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths of that village, although their forbears have not lived there for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descendants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between the people of *Stuæ* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɔsl̥* (no. 4), *Nulɣɨɣtskwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsɨm* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recognized that their origins and customs were similar. This was also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tăl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sătlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[13] Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(29) *Qankdst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

[13] Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14] Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time.

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reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

The Dean River is called *Nuɬɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslimx*. About eighty years ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sā·tsk'

*(44) *Sā·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwɬst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Täl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Täl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ɬstämɣ*[11] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the [197]

[11] To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ɬ has not been used.

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619 [197] others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

[575] [609] B. CEREMONIAL. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. ORIGIN AND RELIGION. The people of Bella Coola, *Tăl·io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with [771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a [563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola [186] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, [578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con- [796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.